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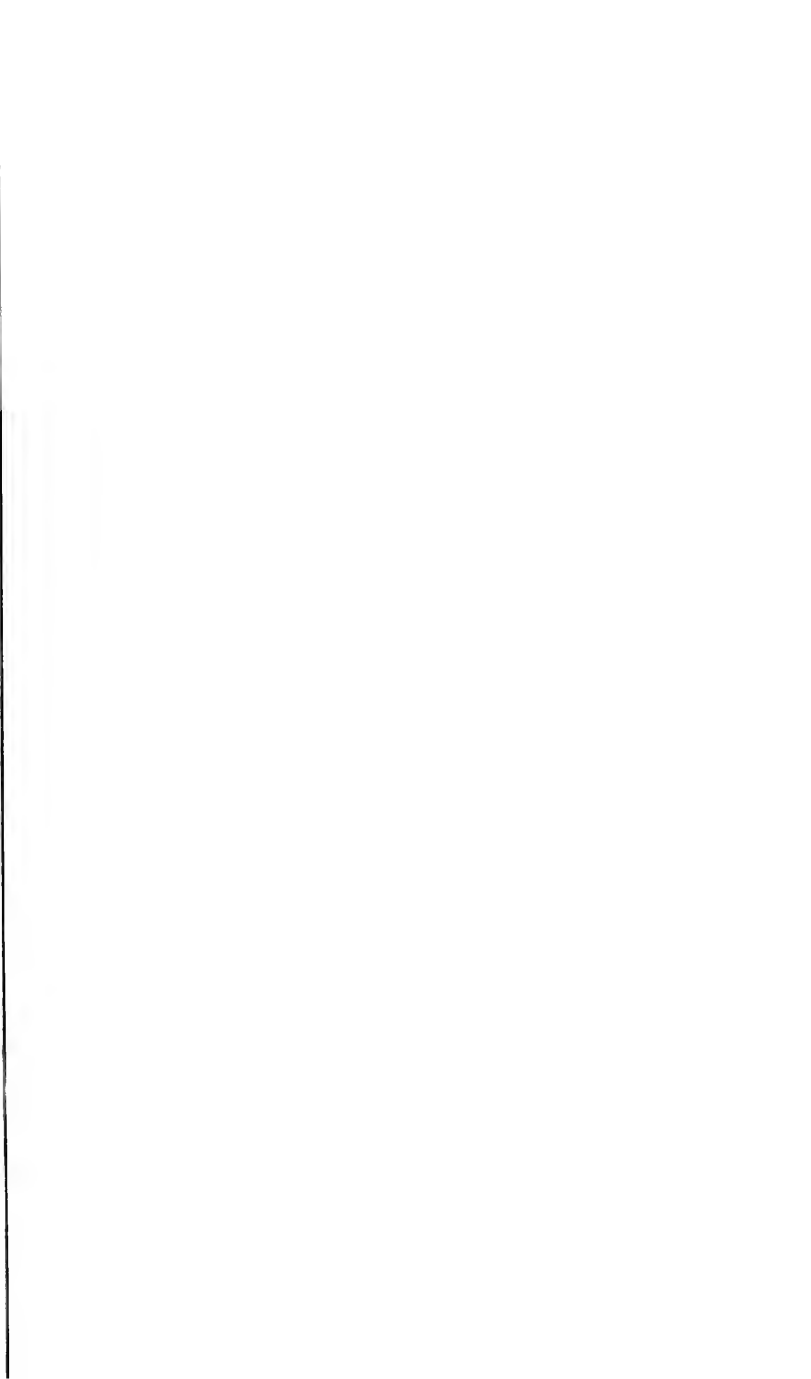
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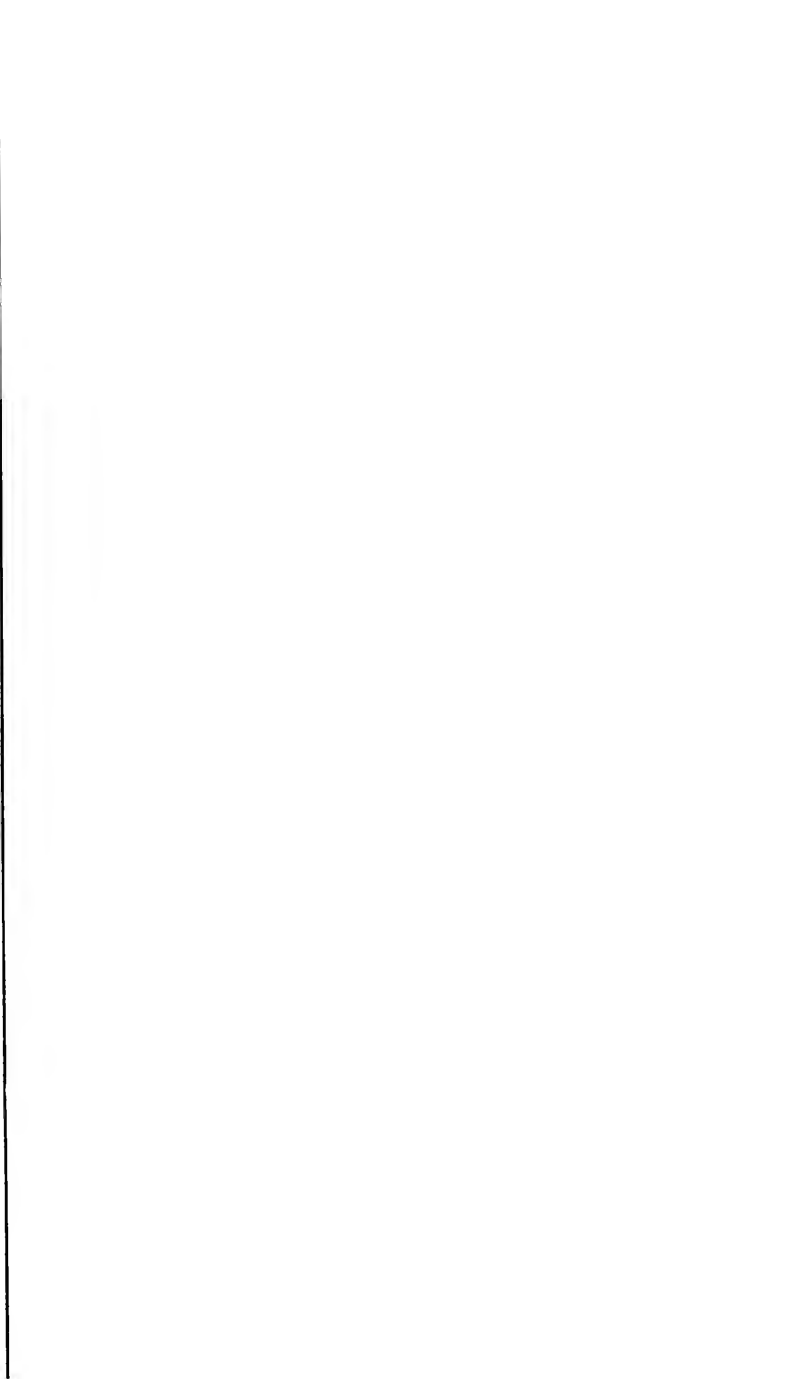


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F O U R
L E T T E R S

ON IMPORTANT
NATIONAL SUBJECTS,

ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF SHELBURNE,
HIS MAJESTY'S FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER
OF THE TREASURY.

BY JOSIAH TUCKER, D.D.

DEAN OF GLOCESTER.

GLOCESTER:
PRINTED BY R. RAIKES.
FOR T. CADEL, IN THE STRAND, LONDON.

M DCC LXXXIII.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT was the Author's original Intention to have added several Letters more, particularly on the following Subjects.

1st. A Polity for rendering the *English* Nation more beloved, and less hated abroad than it is at present: Or an Attempt towards persuading us, that the Gospel Maxim of cultivating Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards Men, [instead of insisting that all Nations should bow down before us, and do Obedience at Sea] is the best Rule for national Politics.

2^d. A Polity for turning some Millions of the public Funds into circulating Notes; together with a Scheme for
making

making a Beginning towards paying the national Debt, and for advancing the Credit of the Stocks, without additional Taxes.

3d. A Polity for giving *Freedom* and *Equality* to Commerce, and for removing all Monopolies and Exclusions, both internal and external.

4th. A Polity for preventing the Frequency of Robberies, and for approaching towards King ALFRED's Plan for that Purpose, as nearly as the Circumstances of a commercial Nation will permit.

5th. A Polity for building Cottages on a Part of our present Waste-Lands, and for promoting the Growth of Timber, Hemp, and Flax on other Parts of the same.

6th.

6th. A Polity for constituting a *Guard Marine* on different Parts of our Coasts, so as to enable the Nation to carry on a *defensive* War a considerable Time, without pressing Sailors, or deranging the Operations of Commerce.

7thly. A Polity for encouraging industrious Foreigners, who have Money in our Funds, and can promote the Sale of our Manufactures in foreign Countries, to come and settle among us.

THESE were the Objects of his first Intentions; which he may either carry on, or discontinue, according as his present Endeavours shall be received.

L E T T E R I.

THE OCCASION OF THE WORK.

MY LORD,

A MAN of your Lordship's Rank, and in your Station, will not want Addressees of some Sort, or other. Mine perhaps will be as equally remote both from fulsome Flattery, and gross Abuse, as any you can receive. It will, I suppose, contain some Truths not altogether agreeable to your Lordship's Ear; yet such as you had Reason to expect would come from a Quarter, where so much Justice would not be done to your Lordship's Character, as I intend to do. And if to this I should be so happy as to suggest any Hint, which may be of use to you in your ministerial Capacity, I flatter myself, you will not think me the worst Correspondent you ever had.

B

SOME

SOME Years ago, when your Lordship first began your political Career, you honoured the Dean of *Glocester*, with a Visit at *Bristol*; and you were pleased to repeat it. The Purport of these Visits was, to desire my Opinion in Writing concerning the best Regulations for those four Islands, which the *French* had ceded to us by Treaty. I waited on your Lordship at *Bowood*, and brought my Papers with me;—though I ventured to say at the same Time, that I hardly thought these Islands, or any other Acquisitions, at so great a Distance from the Mother Country, worth the Costs both of Men and Money, which had been, and would be, bestowed on them. Your Lordship then took me into your Pleasure Grounds, and there read one or two Letters from a Nobleman of the first Consequence; to which you added a Comment:—“ You, “ see, Sir, how much it may be in my “ Power to serve my Friends, and promote deserving Men. I shall be exquisitely

quifitely happy in confidering you
 “ among the Number.”—To which I
 made Answer, *My Lord, I fhall execute
 the Task you have been pleased to fet me, to
 the beft of my Abilities. As to any Views
 of Preferment, though I humbly thank your
 Lordship for your kind Intentions, I have
 none at all ; being quite contented with my
 Station.* It was very vifible, that this
 Answer rather chagrined, than pleased
 you ; and that the Peer did not expect
 fuch a Speech from the Priest.

Soon after this your Lordship changed
 Sides, and became as violently antiminifter-
 rial, as you had been minifterial before.
 This, of Courfe, made no Alteration in
my Hopes, or Fears ; tho’ I own, it caufed
 fome Variation in my Opinion concerning
 the political Merit of a certain great Man.
 —To confirm me, that I was not mif-
 taken, a Pamphlet appeared fome Time
 afterwards. [faid to be written by a young
 fmart diffenting Minifter, who had fre-

quent Access to your Lordship] wherein, besides the usual Strain of Scurrility and Abuse, I was also reproached with being a Ministerial Scribler, hired to write against the Colonies. This, I own, rather surpris'd me, because I thought it hard to be thus stigmatized, after the Conversation which had pass'd between us. But now I am taught, by long Experience, to be surpris'd at nothing. Even very lately your Lordship hath munificently rewarded two of my Antagonists for their meritorious Deeds. Whether this will not draw upon you the Expectations and Clamours of Twenty more, I leave to your Lordship to determine. For my own Part, as it is a Matter of perfect Indifference to me, I only beg Leave to inform you, that the Catalogue of those who have equal Merit with an IBBETSON, or an ESTWICK, is very great, and every Day encreasing. There is a Dr. DUNBAR, a Dr. TOWERS, a Major CARTWRIGHT, a Mr. NORTHCOTE, with
numberless

numberless anonymous Writers in Newspapers and Magazines ;—not to mention one or two Poets, and Half a Dozen Poetafters. Heavens! what a Lift of LOCKIAN Heroes !

—— *Si Pergama dextris*

Defendi poffint, etiam HIS defenfa fuiffent.

YES, my Lord, all thefe having enlifted themfelves under the glorious Banners of bleffed Independance, have a Right to demand thofe Rewards they have fo well deferved. And therefore you muft expect to hear their own delightful and pithy Sentence, GIVE US OUR RIGHTS, ever founding in your Ears. Indeed, to confeff the Truth, I think thefe doughty Champions of the republican Caufe, have not Scope enough at prefent for the Display of their great Abilities. They are confined within too narrow Bounds : And therefore, if I dared to compare fuch noble Beings as they are, to thofe vile Animals, which chew the
Cud

Cud,—I would say, that for Want of new Matter, they have been too long *chewing the Cud* on one, or two meagre Propositions, [which, whether true, or false, were nothing to the Purpose] instead of fresh Pasture to feed upon. In Pity therefore to their distressed Case, I do promise to give them Plenty of fresh Food, suitable to their Palates, before I close this Work.

BUT, my Lord, my Reasons for addressing myself to your Lordship in this public Manner, are not merely personal. As I have dedicated my Time and Talents to the Service of my Country, yet, as is well known, without neglecting the proper Duties of my Profession, and that too [*incredibile dictu*] without Fee or Reward;—I have the Satisfaction to believe, that there is not a Man in *Great-Britain*, but is *inwardly* convinced, that it would have been happy for us, had the Advice I gave, been taken many Years ago,

ago. Your Lordship, on the contrary, ever since you changed Sides, hath been a most distinguished Member of that *illustrious Band*, to which not only this Country, but *America* also, and *Ireland* have Obligations not a few, and long to be remembered.

As to *America*, and the *Resistance* which this honourable Fraternity have so strenuously excited throughout that Country, I am as glad of the *general Event*, though *not of the particular Circumstances attending it*, as the most flaming Republicans.—I say, I am glad, that *America* has declared herself independent of us, though for Reasons very opposite to theirs. *America*, I have proved beyond the Possibility of a Confutation, ever was a Millstone hanging about the Neck of this Country, to weigh it down: And as we ourselves had not the Wisdom to cut the Rope, and to let the Burthen fall off, the *Americans* have kindly done
it

it for us. The only Thing to be lamented, which never can be lamented enough, was, that as soon as this ungrateful People had refused to pass a public Vote for contributing *any Thing*, or in *any Mode*, towards the general Expence of the Empire, but on the contrary, had entered into Combinations to forbid the Importation of our Manufactures, we had not taken them at their Word, and totally cast them off. Had we done this, it would have been happy for us; nay, it would have been happy for *them* too: Because this would have saved both them and us that Blood and Treasure, which have been so profusely lavished for many Years, without answering any one End whatever:— Unless indeed the raising of a few *American* Upstarts to be *American* Princes,—the enriching of a few Cormorants, and Contractors here in *Britain*,—and the placing of some of the more distinguished Members of the afore-mentioned patriotic

triotic Fraternity on ministerial Thrones, can be thought to have been Objects sufficient to compensate such portentous Losses. As to the Threats and Menaces of the *Americans*, that they would have no more commercial Intercourse with us, your Lordship knows, I was always of the Opinion [and the Event has proved the Truth of it] that they were vain and idle Words. Indeed, common Sense might have informed us, that Trade depends on Interest alone, and on no other Connection or Obligation. The Fact is, that the Colonies never did trade with the Mother-Country, with an Intent merely to serve us, and not themselves: Nor was it in our Power, even when we were strongest, and they in the weakest Stage of their Existence (as appears from their whole History) to compel them to trade with us to their own Loss. Mutual Interest was the only Tie between *America* and *Great-Britain* at all Times and Seasons. And this Prin-

C
ciple

ciple will hold good, I will be bold to say, till the End of Time ; whether they are dependent on, or independent of us. —As to the Planting of Colonies for the Sake of a monopolizing, or exclusive Trade, it is the arrantest Cheat, and Self-Deception, which poor, short-sighted Mortals ever put upon themselves ;—at least in a *national* View :—For I am not here considering, and never will consider, the Interests of Individuals, when they are sacrificing the Public Good to their own private Emolument ; no, not even though they were popular Orators, or republican Patriots.

Thus far in regard to *America*, its Interests, and Connections.---As to *Ireland*, (respecting which Country much the same Artifices have been used for stirring up popular Discontents and Tumults) the Time is not yet come, wherein we can pronounce with sufficient Certainty, concerning the final Issue of such Proceedings.

—The

—The more probable Conjecture seems to be, that after our dear Cousins and Affociates, the illustrious patriotic Bands of that Country, shall have exhausted all their oratorical Stores of Tropes and Figures, in promoting Discord among their Country-men ;—after those celebrated Heroes, the Citizens and Tradesmen of *Dublin*, (who ought to have been in their Shops, or at their Looms, instead of marshalling themselves in Battle Array) shall have had their FILE of Volunteering, and Encampments ;—after they shall have discovered that important Secret, which has lain so long concealed, that *Idleness* is a very different Thing from *Industry*; and that the drinking of ten Thousand Bumpers to the Prosperity of poor *Ireland*, is not the Means of advancing that Prosperity ;—after they shall have found, that they grow poorer, instead of richer, by launching into Expence and Parade ;—and that they can never rival, much less excel the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*,

but by superior Frugality, Diligence, and Skill.—After, I say, dear bought Experience shall have taught them these Lessons, which otherwise they would not learn,—perhaps they may come to their Senses at last:—Perhaps they will end, where they ought to have begun, by requesting to be incorporated with *Great-Britain*, and of becoming one *united Empire* under one King, and one *united Parliament*.

HAD they proposed this at first, their Resolutions and Efforts would have been truly laudable, truly wise, and patriotic. But alas! an Union with *England* would have clashed with the popular Prejudices of *Ireland*: Moreover, it would have been particularly disagreeable to those silly Mortals (who know not their own Interest) the Populace of *Dublin*. Therefore their Leaders, though knowing that they did what was wrong, and injurious to their Country, preferred a *total Separation*

ration from *Great-Britain*, and an *Opposition* to it, *before* such an Union and Incorporation of both these neighbouring Islands, as would have rendered the Interests of them both, one and the same Thing. Thus, my Lord, were the real Interests of *Ireland* sacrificed for the Sake of gaining the shadowy Popularity of the Day:—I call it, a *shadowy Popularity*, which will soon pass away, and be no more. When the Bulk of the *Irish* Nation shall discover, that all their fine Schemes have ended in Disappointment, and that they have been put upon a wrong Scent to hunt after Riches, extended Commerce, and enlarged Navigations, where nothing but the Reverse of each could be obtained by the Means they were pursuing;—it is not improbable, but their Indignation will recoil on the Authors of their Misfortunes, and that they will at last distinguish their real, from their pretended Friends.

IN

IN the mean Time, it is certainly our Wisdom as a Nation to interfere with their internal Police as little as possible; letting them alone, and suffering them to do as they please, till they themselves shall be tired of their Folly, and shall wish to be delivered from those Evils, which were of their own creating. But before this shall come to pass, it is very probable, that some Blood will be shed, and many Outrages committed. The Big-endians, and Little-endians will tear and worry one another to Death. Nay, when the County-Volunteers, the City-Volunteers, the Provincial-Volunteers, &c. &c. &c. shall have no external Enemy to encounter with,—What are they to do?—And how are they to prove the Manliness of their Courage, or their soldier-like Attainments in the Use of their Arms, unless they shall be allowed to cut and slash, fire and thrust at each other? This Liberty they *will* take, whether allowed or not. And then too,

another

another Discovery will be made, which it seems cannot be made at present,
 “ That Men with Arms in their Hands,
 “ and no Money in their Pockets, will not
 “ be over-nice or scrupulous, as to the
 “ Means of providing for themselves.”
 But nevertheless, as I said before, it is our Business to be quiet, till the *Irish* Nation themselves shall petition for our Assistance. Necessity will open their Eyes at last, and oblige them to pursue the only Means, which can render them a well regulated, a rich, commercial, and industrious People, namely, a thorough Union and Incorporation with *Great-Britain*. It is a melancholly Reflection, but for the most Part it is too true, that Nations, as Nations, never can learn Wisdom, till Necessity becomes their School-Mistress.

THE last Consideration must turn on the Injuries, which *Great-Britain*, or rather the *internal Government* of *Great-Britain*

Britain hath received from the incessant Labours of the same *illustrious Band*;— Or, if not *immediately* from them, from their numerous Allies, and bosom Friends, and Favourites, the republican Writers and Orators of the present Times. By the Help of that equivocal Phrase, REVOLUTIONAL PRINCIPLES [which never ought to signify any thing more, than that the *Governed*, in Cases of the *last Extremity*, and after all other Means have been tried in vain, have a Right to have Recourse to their last Remedy namely, to depose their *Governors*, and chuse others]. I say, by the Help of these ambiguous Words, such Doctrines have been incessantly inculcated, as tend to over-turn every Government upon Earth, without erecting, or establishing any. The Sun is twelve Months in performing its Revolution; the Moon is one Month. But if our modern Doctrines should prevail, if the *Arbitrium popularis auri* is to be the only Regulator of the

the Revolution of our political Suns and Moons, probably the Government must be changed as often as once a Fortnight, if not oftener. Was it for this, my Lord, that you struggled so hard to get into Power? And if you thought, that you were to hold your Seat as Premier, only for a Fortnight, a Month, or a Year, how would you like such revolutionary Principles as these? *ex ore tuo*.

BESIDES, the whole Mass of the People have been told a thousand Times over, that Government, in its own Frame and Constitution, is rather an Enemy, than a Friend to the original Liberties of Mankind, by abridging and depriving them of those Privileges and that Freedom, which Nature had given them to enjoy. Hence surely the Inference is just, that according to this State of the Case, the People ought to carry on as fierce and as settled an Opposition against every Species of Government, as

D

they

they possibly can. They ought to clog the Wheels of this political Machine, and to retard, or counter-act its Motions to the utmost of their Power ;— provided they do not break forth into open Rebellion. And even if they should proceed to such Lengths, they have been instructed both in Prose and Verse, that the Thing most undesirable in a Rebellion, is the Want of Success, and those disagreeable Circumstances, which may in that Case attend it. As to the supposed Guilt or Crime of such an Action, it is a Joke ; there is no Guilt, or Crime in it. The Laws, which enacted severe Penalties against such meritorious Deeds, are grown obsolete : Besides, they were made at a Time, when the natural and unalienable Rights of a free People were not properly understood ; therefore such Restraints are not binding on the present wise Generation.—Not to mention the grand Principle of all, which lays the Axe to the Root of every Kind
of

of Subordination whatever, “ We never
 “ gave our exprefs Consent to any fuch
 “ Regulation, we never entered into any
 “ *positive Engagement* or Compact of
 “ that Sort, we never voted for it;—
 “ therefore we will not obey it.”

HERETOFORE, my Lord, Government
 was fupposed to be built on two princi-
 pal Foundations, OPINION,—and PE-
 NAL SANCTIONS. Refpecting the for-
 mer, the People were taught to believe,
 that it was a Matter of *Duty* and *Con-
 science* to obey Magiftrates, to fubmit to
 the Laws of their Country, and to re-
 verence their Superiors. But now we
 are told, at leaft by Inference and De-
 duction, that all this is Grimace and
 Impofture. “ For every Man has a na-
 “ tural and unalienable Right to con-
 “ fider himfelf as being equal to every
 “ other Man whatfoever.” And the
 grand Maxim of a republican printed
 Letter now in Circulation, is, *That*

those Laws, which are to bind ALL, ought to be assented to by ALL. In Consequence of these blessed Doctrines continually propagated among us, the very Idea of Authority [excepting the Authority of Mr. LOCKE and his Disciples] is turned into a Jest, and a Laughing-Stock. “ Solemn Forms, and Robes of
 “ State, Ensigns of Dignity and Office,
 “ Crowns and Sceptres, and even *Coro-*
 “ *nets* and *Maces*! What are they? Bau-
 “ bles all! We can see through the
 “ Cheat, and will not be held in Bondage
 “ by such airy Trifles. And even as to
 “ *penal Laws*, let who will make them,
 “ it is the Business of every genuine Son
 “ of Freedom to find Flaws in, and ei-
 “ ther to elude, or defy them. Suppose
 “ the worst, suppose a Prosecution was to
 “ ensue, we have Resources still remain-
 “ ing, the noble Cry of Liberty, and an Ap-
 “ peal to the natural Rights of Mankind,
 “ together with the Chicane to be prac-
 “ ticed on such Occasions, may influence
 “ a sym-

“ a *sympathizing* Jury, and bring us off :
 “ —Or at last, we can but die ; and we
 “ will die like Heroes. The Multitude
 “ will applaud our undaunted Courage ;
 “ and Thousands will grace our Exits
 “ with their Tears.”

THIS you know, my Lord, is too much the State of Things at present. How Matters have been brought into this woful, this alarming pass, is a melancholly Reflection ; and I will avoid the discussion of it as much as possible. Rather let me, let every true Friend to Mankind, of whatever Party, or Connection he may be, *Civil* or *Religious*, endeavour to find out those Remedies, which may cure, or at least may palliate these Diseases, without introducing others in their Stead. Once I had the Opportunity of observing to your Lordship, when you honoured me with a Call at *Glocester*, that almost all great Men were deceived, and did woefully deceive

deceive themselves in one material Point. They thought it was as easy a Matter to lay an evil Spirit of Discontent and Turbulence in the People, as it was to raise it:—But in this they would always find themselves mistaken. May the Dean of *Glocester* prove a false Prophet on the present Occasion! This my Lord, is the sincere and earnest Prayer of

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient humble Servant,

J. TUCKER.

L E T-

L E T T E R II.

The evil Consequences of debasing the regal Influence, and exalting the aristocratical or the popular, beyond their due Proportion.

MY LORD,

WERE Mankind those absolutely free, and independent Beings, which some of our republican Doctors have represented them to be, it would be impossible for them to be under any Influence at all. They would be such Masters of themselves, that no Power on Earth could bias their Judgments, or compel their Actions. But this is such a System of metaphysical Politics, as none but the worst of Men would attempt to inculcate, and none, but the weakest, could really believe. It being therefore to be assumed, as a given Point in this Debate, that Influence of some Sort, and in some Degree

Degree or other, will ever take Place in human Affairs, the next Thing observable is, that such Influence may be either morally good, or morally bad, or perfectly indifferent, according to the Nature and Tendency of it, and the internal Persuasion of the Person to be affected by it.

FOR EXAMPLE.

A Person, who has a Vote either as a Free-holder, or a Freeman, is desired to give it for a certain Candidate, either in the Court or Anti-Court Interest, it Matters not which.—He is under some prior Obligation to, or has some future Favour to ask, which he hopes to obtain from one of the Candidates, or from one of his Friends. Now the first Step to be taken in such a Case is, to inform himself as well as he can, both of the private Character, and public Connections of such a Person. And after he has done this, if he should think the Life and Conversation of such a Per-

a Person, or the Cause he espouses, to be, upon the whole, better and more worthy, or even to be less detrimental to the public Welfare, than those of his Antagonist, he is bound in Conscience to vote for such a Candidate.—I say, he is *bound in Conscience*; because he cannot otherwise discharge his Duty, as a good Citizen, and a faithful Member of Society. But if the Reverse of this should be the Voter's inward Sentiment, he ought in Conscience *not* to vote for such a Man, let the Consequences to himself be whatever they may.—For, my Lord, we have a Rule in Divinity, to which all Statesmen are almost equally Strangers, That we ought not to fear those who can kill the Body, but cannot kill the Soul:—Whereas we ought to fear him only, who can destroy both Soul and Body in Hell. As to the Case of perfect Indifference, few Words may suffice. For if the Merits, or even Demerits of the Candidates, or of their several Connec-

tions are equally balanced in the Voter's Mind, Gratitude for past Favours ought to preponderate :—And, I am sure, I need not add the Views of Self-Interest will as certainly prevail, if there should be a Prospect of Favours to be received.—Indeed it is to be feared, that this latter Consideration will too often prevail, where it ought not.

I HAVE now finished my little Sketch of casuistical Divinity on the Subject of Electioneering. And upon the Whole I am so thoroughly persuaded of the Justness of it, that I would venture to submit even to Dr. PRICE, or to his Assistant Dr. TOWERS, to pronounce Sentence upon it, and to condemn it, if they can. Words, I know by sad Experience, may be so twisted, and distorted, as to speak a Language quite foreign from the Intention of the Author: But every Reader of an ingenuous Mind will see through the Cheat, and readily distinguish

distinguish the Author's genuine Sense and Meaning from the forced Interpretation put upon them.

INFLUENCE, therefore, of some Sort, and in some Degree or other, there ever was, and ever will be, used in the Conduct of human Affairs. Good Influence ought to be encouraged; bad Influence ought to be discouraged as much as possible:—Or rather (and to strike at the Root of the Evil) the Causes which create it ought to be removed out of the Way, so that frail, imperfect human Nature may not be led into Temptation: [And this I shall attempt to do in the Course of this Work.] As to all indifferent Cases, they speak so clearly for themselves, that more need not be said about them.

Now, my Lord, be pleased to examine your own Conduct, and that of your [late] illustrious Associates by this Test. The Thing, which you have all taken for granted, and which has been laid down

as a fundamental Rule, is, that the Influence of the Crown is *always bad*. [Heretofore it was a Maxim in our common Law, that the King *can do no Wrong*: Now the Maxim seems to be reversed,—the King can do *no Right*.] Indeed I do not say that regal Influence is always rightly applied: And I desire your Lordship to take Notice of this voluntary Acknowledgment. But I will be bold to say, that for these fifty Years last past, Courtiers have been as often in the Right as Anti-courtiers, and have used their Influence to as good national Purposes,—if not to better. Nay, perhaps, now that your Lordship has obtained your End in being the Pilot of the State, with so many others under you, even Lord SHELBURNE may be more of my Opinion than he professed to be a few Months ago. Either therefore all Influence ought to be condemned alike; or that of the Crown ought not to be branded more than the rest, as being peculiarly criminal, and to be held up as
the

the only Object of public Hatred, and national Detestation.


YOUR Lordship has the Command of two Boroughs already: And the Public shrewdly suspect, that you would have no Qualms of Conscience against commanding two more,—or even twenty-two. Mr. Fox and Lord HOLLAND's Family command one: The late Marquis of ROCKINGHAM had at least two, which he might, and did call *his own*: And were I to proceed after the same Manner throughout the Peerage, and the great Landed Interest, also the Commercial, and the Manufacturing Interest of the Realm, perhaps I might enumerate not less than two Hundred, viz. Boroughs and Cities, and even Counties, whose Voters chuse Representatives, and return Members to Parliament, more according to the good Will and Pleasure of those who have the Ascendency over them, than according to their own private Judgments, or personal Determinations.

THEREFORE

THEREFORE, my Lord, will you propose a Law, that no Ascendency of this Sort shall be suffered to prevail for the future? Will you bring in a Bill to enact Pains and Penalties against all Landlords, their Stewards, or Agents, who shall dare to interfere directly, or indirectly, with the Votes of their respective Tenants, Tradesmen, or Dependents?—Against all Magistrates, &c. in Corporations, or against Justices of the Peace at their County Meetings, if they should insinuate to the Keepers of Ale-Houses, and to others, that the granting of Licences, or any the like Favours, vested in them by Law, will depend on the giving of their Votes for this, or that particular Candidate?—Against all Masters of Families, principal Manufacturers, Merchants, and Tradesmen, who shall presume to whisper to their Journeymen, Servants, or Underlings, that they expect them to vote according as they shall direct,—and that a Submission must be paid to their Wills and Pleasures, if they hope to be employed
by


by them, or retained in their Service? Much more might be added:—But Oh! my Lord, lay your Hand on your Heart, and tell me plainly,—or rather tell your Country, which hath a Right to ask the Question,—Was this ever any Part of the Plan either of yourself, or of your quondam, or present Associates? Did either you, or they, when such tragical Exclamations were raised against the Influence of the Crown, ever intend to lessen your own? Did you ever propose to set the first Example by enacting a Self-denying Ordinance against yourselves?—No, my Lord, so far from it, that many, if not most of your illustrious Band grounded all their Hopes, and all their Schemes, for their own Exaltation, on the Depression, and Humiliation of the Monarchy. In short, while the general Liberty of the People was the Pretence and Cry, the particular Emolument and Grandeur of about a Score of Lords, and twice as many Commons, were the real End and Aim of all these patriotic Endeavours.

IN this, my Lord, our *English* Demagogues have but too closely imitated the Example, which a like Set of Patriots had set them not many Years ago in *Sweden*. After the Death of CHARLES XII. the *Swedes* acted very wisely in abridging the Power, and limiting the Prerogative of their Kings. And had they proceeded no farther, than to fix a proper Balance between the several Parts of their Constitution, so that no one Branch should overturn, or swallow up the rest, they would have acted as the real Friends of their Country, justly deserving the highest political Encomiums that could be given to Men. Indeed it is very probable, that the Mass of the People of *Sweden*, (naturally an honest, religious, and well-meaning Race of Men,) aimed at no more; and would have been perfectly contented with such a Constitution, as that one Part of it might be a Counterpoise to, and a Check upon, the other. But their Leaders, my Lord, [as you well know from every History of that Transaction,

Transaction, and from the Papers of the *British* Minister at that Court, now in the Paper Office] had very different Ends in View. Under the Masque of procuring the Liberty and Independence of the Subject, they aimed at a cruel Tyranny and Oppression over their Fellow-Subjects. As to *political Liberty*, or the Share which the *Swedish* Nation in general had in the Government, this I own was the Era, when their *political Liberties* were the most extended; and let my Adversaries make the most of this Concession, provided they will also remember,  that this was likewise the *black* Era, when their *Civil Liberties* were the least secured, and the most shamefully invaded;—their Persons and Properties, and their dearest Rights and Liberties being continually in Danger of being seized upon by Order of the *Secret Committee*, that political Engine of a *State Inquisition*. Moreover that which was the Case so lately in *Sweden*, is now the Fact with regard to the enslaved

F *Americans,*

Americans, groaning under the Domination of their haughty Lords and Masters, once their Fellow-Subjects. Nay, my Lord, it is much to be feared, that this will be our own Case, unless your Lordship will step forth in Time, and prevent those Evils from growing to a greater Height, which are now impending over us; and to which hitherto, I am sorry to say, you have not been the most active Opposer. But to return.—

THE *Swedish* Nation never felt the Iron Hand of despotic Power under their most absolute Monarchs more severely, than under the tyrannic Sway of those pseudo Patriots, who ruled the State from the Year 1726, or thereabouts, to almost 1770. During this Period more innocent Blood was shed upon the Scaffold,—more Confiscations took Place under the shameless Pretence of public Safety,  yes, and all Kinds of Bribery and Corruption appeared more open and bare-faced, than
had

had been known before. Respecting the last of these Evils, Bribery and Corruption, be it observed, and duly remembered, that *French Gold*, even *Popish Money*, was the *primum Mobile* of these Patriots, so *zealous for the Protestant Cause*. The Kingdom, and the Interests of the Kingdom, were bought and sold with as much Impunity, and consequently with as little Reserve, as Cattle at a Fair, or Goods at a Market.—Nor indeed, my Lord, is this so much to be wondered at, when the Affair is duly weighed, with all its Circumstances. For when the Interests and Prerogatives of the Crown were so totally annihilated, as they were then in *Sweden*,---what Barrier [politically speaking] was there still remaining to stand in the Way of foreign Bribery and Corruption. The Crown, we may naturally suppose, would not become * *Fois de Je*, and sell itself.

* There is one Exception to this Rule, and only one that I can think of: The infamous C. II. sold himself, and his Crown, and became a Pensioner of *France*.---Regard-

itself. Therefore as long as it had an Interest of its own to preserve, it must, and would be a Check on all Traffic of this Nature. Not to mention, that the most abandoned prostitute Patriot could not, under such Circumstances, proceed with that Audacity, as if he was under no Controul. Nay, the foreign Corrupter himself would be rather shy of lavishing away his Bribes and Pensions, when he found, that the internal Frame of the Constitution defeated his Projects, and rendered abortive his deepest laid Designs: But when all Restraints whatever were removed, he had then free Scope of practising every Mystery of Iniquity that Machivellian Policy could suggest.—And he succeeded accordingly. For we are told by a very intelligent and faithful Historian [Mr. SHERIDAN, Secretary to the

less both of his personal Honour, and his own Interest, he cared for nothing, but how to procure present Money to support his Pleasures, and pay his Mistresses. The Reader will supply the rest.

British

British Envoy in Sweden] that *France* governed *Sweden* by her Bribes and Pensions, with as much Ease as she governs one of her own Provinces.

AND now, my Lord, is not this too true a Picture of what is likely to come to pass in our own Country, according to the present Appearances of Things? The Influence of the Crown is marked out as the grand Object of public Scorn, and Hatred :—Its Servants are already deprived of their Birth-Rights, the Privilege of Voting : They are stigmatized by Law, as the most infamous of Men, for no other assignable Reason [no other Reason having ever been assigned] but because the Crown retains, as yet, the Nomination or Appointment of them. Nay, we have been told over and over and over again in the most vehement patriotic Language, that even this Nomination, or Disposal of Places ought to be taken away, and put into other
Hands.

Hands. [As indeed was the Case in *Sweden*.] And then what remains? Your Lordship can easily guess at the Consequence.

ONE Thing more permit me to observe.—MONS. NECKER hath assured us in his *Compte Rendu* [See my *Cui Bono*, p. 12th of 3d Edit.] that the King of *France* expends yearly in Pensions, upwards of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling! Suppose therefore, that he allotted annually only One-sixth Part, or £.200,000. Sterling, of that Sum, to be distributed among his trusty and well-beloved Friends, the Ring-leaders of the Populace of *Great-Britain* for the Time being:—In that Case, would none of this chosen Band fall down and Worship the Golden Image, which he had set up? Would they all refuse to be guilty of this political Idolatry? If your Lordship can be of that Opinion, I retract: But till I hear that you are, permit

mit me to suppose, that Men, needy in their Circumstances, abandoned in their Morals, and totally devoid of any religious Principles whatever, would not scruple to fall down and worship any Golden Image, which could be proposed to them, provided it should prove the Means of supplying their Wants, and gratifying their Vices.

BUT this is not all : For were I to carry on the Parallel between the Corruptions of *Sweden*, and those of *England*, it would appear, that the latter Set of Patriots cannot stop where they are. They must go forward, or found a Retreat. If we may judge of their future Conduct by the past, or prognosticate, by their printed Denunciations, what they intend to do, we may conclude, that they will not rest contented, till every Prop is taken away, and the whole Fabric of Monarchy is so undermined, that it must fall of itself. And then,

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at the Demise of (God preserve his Life) it will be no difficult Matter to declare at once, that Monarchy is an unnecessary Part of the *English* Constitution, a Burthen, rather than a Benefit.

INDEED I am informed, this hath been said already [not by some worthless Upstart, or by the Unprincipled, Profligate, and Necessitous; for that would have been no Wonder, but even] by a Man descended from noble Ancestors, and himself in many Respects an Ornament to his Country, but unhappily too much infected with the Republican Malady of the Times. It is confidently reported, that even this good, but mistaken Man hath said, *If we must have a K—, I should prefer the present to any other; but I do not see what Need there is to have any K— at all.* Little, surely, did he think, that with a very small Change in the Expression, and none at all

all in the Sentiment, the same Aphorism is applicable to himself, and to the very best and greatest Landed Men throughout the Kingdom. ‘If we must have Landlords, saith the Tenant, I should prefer the present to another. But I do not see what Need there is to have any Landlord at all. We are all his Equals by Nature, as free and independent as himself; and the Earth was given to us all. Therefore we ought to claim our Rights, and no longer submit to such Usurpations.’—Shall I add, that the modern Doctrines of the perfect Equality of all Mankind,—of their original, natural, and inherent Rights, never to be transferred, or alienated, and of the Necessity of contending for them even to the Death, tend to confirm all these wild and extravagant Conceits?—Yes, my Lord, they do tend to confirm them all; for they necessarily demolish not only *Crowns*, but *Coronets* too, levelling all Distinctions

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with the Ground. All ye great ones hear this, and tremble !

IF after this, any Thing could be supposed to render the Conduct of our *English* Republicans more absurd in itself, and more contradictory to Common Sense, than it already appears, it is the following Consideration.—That whilst they are taking away so much Influence from the Crown, *good* as well as *bad*, by proscribing its Servants, and stripping them of the Rights of free Citizens,—they, in the same Breath, maintain the unalienable Rights of all Mankind, to give their Suffrages as they please, and to chuse their own Governors, and be their own Legislators. Shameful Prevarication! gross Inconsistency! But what else can we expect?—

I have now spoken the honest Truth, without Reserve; and yet I hope, all
Things

Things considered, with sufficient Decency. A manly Freedom is necessary to be displayed by that Man who has neither *Hopes* nor *Fears*, as far as himself, and his own Interests are concerned ; who therefore is only anxious for the Good of his Country ; and would willingly preserve the best Constitution in the World from Ruin, if he could.

WITH these Sentiments,—with Sentiments of Humanity towards all Mankind, and with my best Wishes for your Lordship's Prosperity as a Minister, if your political Conduct shall deserve it,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient humble Servant,

J. TUCKER.

L E T T E R III.

The manifold bad Consequences of disturbing the public Peace and Tranquility under a Pretence of procuring a more equal Representation of the People in Parliament.

MY LORD,

LONDON, the Metropolis of Great-Britain, has been complained of, for Ages past, as a Kind of Monster, with a Head enormously large, and out of all Proportion to its Body. And yet at that Juncture, when this Complaint was first made [about 200 Years ago] the Buildings of *London* were hardly advanced beyond the City-Bounds: As to *Westminster* and *Southwark* [which we now consider as united to the former by their Buildings and Bridges, and making on the whole, a City of a most immense Size] they were then little better than large straggling Villages. If therefore the In-crease

crease of Building, begun at such an early Period, was looked upon to be no better than a Wen, or Excrescence, in the Body Politic, what must we think of those numberless Streets and Squares, which have been added since!—For my Part, I do not think those Protuberances arose to any very alarming Magnitude 'till within these 60 or 70 Years. And they owed their Rise to various Causes, all concurring together, and all of them evident Alterations from the Plan of the old *English* Constitution;—consequently they are such as may be considered to be Encroachments upon, if not actual Usurpations of, the Rights and Privileges of the rest of the Kingdom.

AMONG the principal of those Changes or Alterations, which produced such astonishing Quantities of new Buildings, the following ought to be particularly mentioned :—The Royal Residence, and the
Residence

Residence of Parliament, now fixt to one particular Spot, which heretofore were moveable (if I may so speak) from one Part of the Kingdom to the other. This Event drew after it the chief Nobility and Gentry of the Realm ; who all chose to reside as much as possible in *London*. And such an Afflux, or Concourse of Strangers from the Country, was naturally attended with many other Circumstances, which followed each other in Succession :—Such as the fixing of the public Treasury near the Court, and the Parliament, with all the subordinate Offices belonging to it, consequently the Mint, the general Post-Office, the Admiralty, the Navy and Victualling Offices, and all other Agencies and Appendages, whether for the Land, or Sea Service :—And if to these we add that great national Shop, the *Bank*, and another over-grown Monster, the *East-India Company* ;—but above all, if we take into Consideration those Aggregates of
public

public Debts, called the *Funds* or *Stocks*, which now may be said to contain the circulating Property of the Nation, and perhaps of other Nations too [the Management of which is confined to *London*]
— we can be at no Loss to account for the immediate Growth of this Metropolis, or why it is become so much larger than any City in the Universe, in Proportion to the Size, or Extent of the Country, to which it belongs.

Now, my Lord, as the modern Republican Doctrine requires, that those Laws which bind all, *ought to be assented to by all*, I humbly beg Leave to appeal to your Lordship, whether you think, that the rest of the Kingdom ever gave their *positive* and *express* Consent to these several Alterations, these Encroachments and Monopolies continually operating to their own Disadvantage? And consequently, whether according to the same Doctrine, this

over-

over-grown Metropolis ought not to be stripped of its borrowed Greatness, and be reduced to its primitive and just Mediocrity?—Should this Inference be drawn from the Premises [and who can draw any other] let the rest of the Kingdom be heard for once, as well as the patriotic Tribe of *Westminster*, making their clamorous Petitions, GIVE US OUR RIGHTS. And, my Lord, when every Part of the united Kingdom shall join in one grand Cry for a general Equality, GIVE US OUR RIGHTS! How would you like such a Kind of Symphony? Would it sound melodiously in a *ministerial* Ear?—I said every Part of the *united* Kingdom; for I must beg Leave to observe, that these Sounds may come with peculiar Propriety from the North of the *Tweed*. The *Scotch* Nation, even according to Dr. PRICE's diminishing Account of Population, is at least One-fourth Part of the Number of Inhabitants of *Great-Britain*: Consequently

quently their Proportion of Representatives in Parliament ought to be nearly 140 Members, instead of 45. This, my Lord, doth not look with the most benign Aspect towards ministerial Repose: And I could almost venture to affirm, that you do not wish that such a Proposal should ever be made:—But this is nothing to what is to follow: For *Scotland*, according to every Admeasurement, being more than One-third of the Magnitude of *England*, therefore has acquired an *inherent* and *unalienable* Right [You see, my Lord, that I have now learnt to speak the patriotic Dialect] to have a general Parliament of the united Kingdom held in its own Metropolis every *third* Year. But even this is not all: For as 75 Years since the Union in 1707 are now elapsed [during which long Period *Scotland* has been deprived, and defrauded of her natural and indefeasible Right] it follows of Course, that in order to make a just Com-

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penfation, the Parliament of *Great-Britain* ought to be transferred from *Westminfter* to *Edinburgh*, for 25 Years to come, and then all Accounts will be balanced ; and Things will go on in a regular Rotation of every third Year, from *England* to *Scotland*.

BUT perhaps my patriotic Readers of the *Westminfter* Committee would wish, that this triennial *Scotch* Account, with a Balance in its Favour of 25 Years, were entirely omitted ;—*though it is the very Quinteffence of their own Doctrine*. And you, my Lord, even you, I sincerely believe, would be as well pleased, were no more to be faid about it. I will therefore endeavour to gratify you both ; and, inftead of urging it any more, I will totally forego it (unanswerable as it is,) and venture to meet their grand Argument itfelf Face to Face ;—the Argument for an equal Representation of the People.

THE capital *Lockian* Principle, as ftated
by

by the Republicans themselves in their circular Letter, is as follows:—After having prefaced, ‘ That Constitutional Tracts tending to revive in the Minds of the *Commonalty at large* a Knowledge of their *lost Rights*, particularly such as respect the Election and Duration of the representative Body, and to impress them with a Sense of their Importance, be distributed at the Expence of the Society, and under its Direction.’—They then go on to observe

‘ I. THAT in entering into Civil Society, Men give up no more of their *natural Rights* than what may be necessary for the good Government of Society; and, that there are Rights which remain undelegated; that neither the Violence of the Times, nor the Power of Magistrates, nor Decrees or Judgments, nor Acts of Parliament, nor the Authority of the whole People, which in *Civil Things* is supreme, can subvert, or impair.’

‘ II. THAT Law [which is] to bind
 ‘ all, must be assented to by ALL; and
 ‘ that is not Law, but Servitude, for the
 ‘ People to be held to that, to which they
 ‘ have not consented.’

AFTER this the Letter proceeds to state other Articles, which tho’ of the same general Tendency with the former, yet as they do not so directly stare us in the Face as the foregoing, may, for the Sake of Brevity, be omitted :—Only let it be duly remembered, that the Committee declare in their 7th Proposition, ‘ That
 ‘ the triennial and septennial Acts are contrary to the Constitution, were enacted
 ‘ without the Consent of the People, and
 ‘ *against natural Right ;*’ and

‘ VIII. THAT under the present imperfect Constitution of Parliament, it is
 ‘ impossible we can be free, safe, and
 ‘ happy at home, or respected abroad.’

AND they close the whole of this *harmless*

less and *Peace-making* Performance, with warmly recommending the ‘Establishment of parochial Societies for the Purposes of forwarding the Petitions for a parliamentary Reformation similar to that lately set on Foot in *Westminster*.’

Now, my Lord, the only Truth in the above-cited four Propositions, is that which had no Business among them, and was only added by Way of Blind to hide the Deformity of the rest: Namely, that there are certain Rights in human Nature, which are *unalienable*; that is to say, they cannot be delegated, or transferred, even with the Consent of the Parties, supposing it possible that such Consent could be obtained. For this, and nothing but this, can be an *unalienable* Right. And therefore every Moral Agent must perform such Acts in Person, otherwise they will be of no Effect, and not be valid, if done by another. These, as I observed in my Answer to Mr. LOCKE, are the Functions of Animal Life, and the Duties

Duties of personal Religion. Therefore, my Lord, if your Lordship, or any other Minister, through the Violence of the Times, or if the Judges should decree, if the King and Parliament, or even the whole People united should make a Law for appointing certain Deputies or Representatives to perform those Acts; that is to say, if any of you separately, or all of you jointly, should delegate one Man, one Member of Parliament, [suppose the Honourable Mr. Fox] to eat and drink, and to fast and pray, instead of his Constituents,—I will heartily join the *Westminster* Committee in condemning such a Law :—And though I do not declare what Appellation I should give to such Law-givers, most certainly I shall not call them *Conjurers*.

THE patriotic Committee and myself being for once happily agreed, I will now proceed to examine their grand Project for giving a Vote or Suffrage to every Moral Agent, in order that those Laws, which

which bind *all*, may be assented to by *all*, according to the 2d Proposition in their circular Letter. And this Attempt I will undertake to prove to be absurd,—impracticable,—useless,—and very mischievous.

1st. THE Attempt itself is absurd, by proving too much. For if all Persons have a Right to vote for those Laws, to which they are subject, and ought to submit [which is particularly the Case with respect to Revenue Laws, and all Kinds of Taxes and Excises] then it inevitably follows, that every Woman, and all the Youths of both Sexes throughout the Nation, as soon as they grow up to be Moral Agents, ought to be admitted to vote, as well as Men. Now this is a Principle so very unreasonable, that the bare mentioning of it is an Insult to Common-Sense. And yet, my Lord, how can this Inference be possibly avoided. if the above Proposition of the *Westminster* Committee is to be admitted?

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As to Women in particular, Mr. CARTWRIGHT'S Pretence for excluding them from this *unalienable Right* of voting, is, that *God and Nature has excluded them*. But here my Lord, permit me to ask when? where? and after what Manner? For if God and Nature gave to all Moral Agents this unalienable Right [and surely Women are Moral Agents as well as Men] making them accountable for the Use, or Abuse of such a Talent, how can it be supposed, that God and Nature refused them the Exercise of it? Either therefore Women (not to mention Boys and Girls) have an unalienable Right to vote,—or they have not. Let Major CARTWRIGHT take his Choice;—and attend to the Consequences either Way.

DR. TOWERS was aware of this Difficulty: Therefore he wishes to assign another Reason, why Females should be deprived of this unalienable Privilege. For he seems to allow, that they have this
Right

Right *by Nature* ; but supposes, that we Males, on account of the *Delicacy of the Sex*, have *excluded*, or rather have *excused* them from the Trouble of voting. But here again, a like Question may be asked : By what Pretence, or Colour of Justice can we *exclude*, or even *excuse* them, if they do not exclude, or excuse themselves ? Besides, it may be further asked, What is this *Delicacy of the Sex*, to which the Doctor flies for Succour on the present Occasion ? How is it to be defined ? And according to what Standard are we to ascertain it ? Or who will undertake to construct an electioneering Barometer, so that we may know when this Delicacy of the Sex rises, or falls to the *voting Point* ? Some Females are very high spirited Dames ; others are exceedingly low, and full of Vapours : And not a few are both high and low within the same Half Hour. What then is to be done in such a perplexing Case ? And must we at last have recourse to the Poet's Rule, and apply

his Advice to the Purposes of an electioneering Contest?

—— Chuse a firm Cloud, and in it
Catch, 'ere she change, the *Cynthia* of this Minute.

MUCH more might be added, by referring to some late Occurrences, wherein the Delicacy of the Sex did not appear to be the predominant Quality; and Dr. TOWERS was to blame for calling such Frolicks to our Remembrance. But I forbear.—Leaving therefore all modern Illustrations, suppose my Lord I was to adduce a classical one: Suppose I was to appeal to the Conduct of PENTHESILEA, the gentle PENTHESILEA, as described by VIRGIL, and as now acting her Part as a *Manager* at a *Westminster* Election;

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILEA furens, mediisque in millibus ardet:
Aurea subnectens exertæ cingula mammæ
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

would Dr. TOWERS admit this delicate Lady, this *Woman of the People*, to vote
for


for the *Man of the People*, on some trying Occasion? I am in no Hurry for an Answer: The Doctor may take his own Time for deciding this important Question.

I therefore proceed to observe 2dly; that the fore-going Scheme is an *impracticable* one;—at least in so populous a District as the City of *Westminster*.

To make this evident, let it be first premised, that if the whole Number of Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* are about eight Millions [which is the common Calculation] and these represented by 558 Members in Parliament:—If moreover *London, Westminster, and Southwark* do contain, according to the Account of the Patriots, one Million;—then it follows, by the Rule of Proportion, that this *swollen and bloated* Metropolis ought to have 69 6-8ths, or to avoid the Fraction, 70 Members to represent it, instead of eight.

eight. Therefore an Allotment might be made of them after the following Manner : To *Westminster*, as being now the largest District, and containing the greatest Number of Persons to be represented, *thirty Representatives* ;—to *London*, *Twenty-five* ;—and to *Southwark*, *Fifteen*. A goodly Number truly, which promises a glorious Reformation !—Especially when it is also considered, that for the Choice of these seventy Representatives, we are to be blessed with annual Elections !

AND now, my Lord, the Comi-tragedy begins. Proclamation is made for the general *annual* Election of thirty Representatives for the City and Liberties of *Westminster*. Men and Women, young and old, Boys and Girls, all assemble on this joyful Occasion. Silence is proclaimed : But alas ! who is able to enforce the Proclamation ? Who is to keep Order and Regularity in this vast, confused, and *headless* Multitude ;—all equal by Nature,
—all

—all free, and independent; and all of them taught a Lesson [which they will quickly learn, and remember]  that they are to obey no Laws, but those to which they have themselves assented?—Nay further, who is to judge, and who *can* judge, whether they all reside, and how long they have resided within the Liberties prescribed?—Lodgers, In-mates, Footmen, Water-Men, Barge-Men, Blackshoes, Chimney-Sweepers, common Prostitutes, Wheel-barrow Women, Fish-Women, Washer-Women, old-Cloaths Women, Cinder Wenches, &c. &c. all, all have a Right, an unalienable Right to vote! And if they intend to vote for their full Number of Representatives, all of them must learn to repeat distinctly the Names of thirty Candidates, whose Names perhaps they never heard before! Is not this a comfortable Prospect! Likely to do much Good! and much to be desired!—*O Liberty! O my Country!*

BUT,

BUT, to say the Truth, some of the Contrivers of this hopeful Plan, being duly sensible, that it is absolutely impracticable in such a Form, though the just Consequences of their own Principles, have themselves proposed another Mode of conducting it, viz. by Decennaries, or by Streets, or Parishes.—The former of this, I confess, was once the Mode, and an excellent one too, at that Time of Day, namely, about a thousand Years ago.

BUT my Lord, what have King ALFRED's Tythings, or Decennaries to do with modern Times? Or is it indeed intended to revive the Custom, where ten Men [*Freemen*, my Lord, not *Slaves*, or *Copy-holders*] were bound with their whole Families to the King, and mutually to each other, for their good and peaceable Behaviour? Where of Course, each had a Right to inspect the Actions of his Neighbour,—to visit his House at any seasonable Hour, and to pry into his most domestic Concerns?—Nay, and even to stop his Proceedings, if found to be repugnant

nant to the Rules of this little *Fraternity*? —Where therefore the whole Tything made, in a civil or political Sense, but *one large Family*, with a common Head, or Chief?—Sure I am, that if such a Custom is now to be revived, it must be in the Desarts of *America*, and not in *England*.——To *America* therefore let it be consigned, with an hearty Good-Will. And may all our modern republican Patriots speedily retire thither, to make as many political Experiments, and try as many Projects as they please. May these State-Chymists, and Rosi-crucian Politicians have a free Passage to that desirable Country!—to that rising Empire, without Bishops, without Nobles, and *without Kings*! And I am much mistaken, if even your Lordship would refuse them a Passport.

As to the Scheme of voting by Parishes, or Streets, almost all the same Difficulties would arise, which occurred before. If any of the *Parishes* bordered upon the
Thames,

Thames, What Numbers of Boats and Barges might be moored to the Shores, [and surely the Shores are Parts of the Parishes] to serve the Purposes of an electioneering Contest?—For, if the temporary Inhabitants (Male or Female) of these wooden Houses chose to eat and drink, and sleep within them, who could refuse them the Exercise of their *unalienable* Rights of voting? Who, I mean, according to the Principles here laid down? If voting by particular *Streets* should be attempted, what is to become of the numberless Lanes, Courts, Allies, and Passages, which adjoin to different Streets and which equally might serve as Communications to either? In such a Case, what Mark or Token is to be fixt on each of these *Back-door* Voters (as they might be called) to prevent him, or her, from voting a second, a third, or fourth Time, &c. in a different Street, or at a different Place? And indeed how is Residence in general to be defined; or by what Law, Rule, or Limitation, is it to be determined?

But


But above all, were the Poll to be taken in the Winter, or during the Sessions of Parliament, would not the Number of Inhabitants, of Lodgers, In-tenants, Servants, and even of young Masters, and pretty Misses, not to mention occasional Servants, and Multitudes of Helpers of various Kinds, Male and Female;—I say, would not the Numbers be more than double in the Winter, than in the Summer Months, and during the long Vacation? And what would be the necessary Consequences of all these Things?—Undoubtedly false Returns and double Returns, with Petitions on Petitions, Suits in *Westminster-Hall*, and Appeals to the House of Commons without Number:—So that the Parliament House [the Scene itself being in *Westminster*] would be beset with Mobs and Riots, and tumultuous Processions, all clamorous for their unalienable Rights, from the beginning of the Sessions to the End of it. And what is worse still, no sooner would one contested Election be decided, than ano-

ther (as in antient *Rome*) would begin the following Year; and the same Game would be to be played over again.

IF to remedy these Evils, and to put an effectual Stop to such Outrages [which, if not timely prevented, must destroy the whole] an Attempt were made to abridge 19 Parts in 20 of the People of their (pretended) unalienable Rights, and to reduce the Number of actual Voters to Male Inhabitants only, paying Scot and Lot, and of 21 Years of Age and upwards:—If Things were to be put on this Footing, this would be in reality to return to that identical Spot, from whence we set out, and to take up at last with that very System, against which such tragical Outcries had been raised.—*Parturiunt montes.*

BUT, my Lord, were this Equation-Scheme not altogether so *absurd*, or so *imtrafficable*, as here represented, it is an USELESS ATTEMPT, answering no good Purpose.

Purpose. This was the 3d Point I undertook to prove; and in order thereto, we must again have recourse to Figures. Eight Millions of People are represented in Parliament by 558 Deputies. Many of these 8,000,000 are such Infants, that they cannot speak, and others cannot speak plain. These, it is to be hoped, may without Offence be struck off from the *voting List*. Next to these are to be classed all Idiots and Lunatics: For they likewise cannot be deemed to be *moral Agents*. And I will do the LOCKIANS the Justice to acknowledge, that when they insisted so much on the natural and indefeasible Rights of Mankind, they meant only the Rights of that Part of Mankind, who are moral Agents, and therefore capable of making a Choice of their own. Granting this, the Number of actual Voters,—or of those, who, according to the LOCKIAN Hypothesis, ought to be deemed *actual* Voters, will

be considerably diminished, perhaps a fourth Part. But not to stick at little Difficulties, we will suppose so many to be struck off, as will reduce the Number to 5,580,000 moral Agents, Male and Female. This gives exactly 1000 Persons to vote for each Representative. And then some good Reason ought to be assigned,  why One Thousand Voters are fitter to make a worthy Choice than One Hundred. For my Part, I can think but of one Pretence for this equalizing Scheme, which hath not been confuted already :—And that is, that a *thousand Voters* always display more Wisdom and Judgment in the Choice they make, than *one hundred* can be supposed to do. This, I own, would effectually reconcile us to the Measure, could the Fact be as easily proved as it can be asserted. But there lies the Difficulty. And I do not see, that an Appeal to Experience would mend the Matter. However, let us try. According
to

to this Doctrine, the Aphorisms must stand thus,—“ Few Voters, little Wisdom—Many Voters, great Wisdom.” Therefore if there be a certain Borough, which hath the fewest Voters of any in the Kingdom, their Representatives must of Course be the *dullest*: They are the Standard of political Dulness;—Whereas the four Representatives of our great Metropolis must, for the same Reason, be the *brightest*: They are the Standards of political Wisdom. Q. E. D.

THIS, my Lord, accounts for one Phænomenon in the Politics of this Kingdom, which perhaps could not otherwise have been accounted for; as it enables us to explain, how it comes to pass, that the Members for the City of *London* have always outshone, and eclipsed the rest of the senatorial Order, in their political Understandings, the Depths of their Judgments, the Readiness of their Inventions,

tions, and the Happiness of their Elocutions. The Wonder now ceases. They are chosen by the Livery of the City of *London* (themselves a select and chosen Band;) and therefore they have all the Wisdoms of so many Thousands concentrated, compacted, and condensed (if I may use the Expression) into so narrow a Compass as four senatorial Heads.—

AND yet, my Lord, no sooner is this Difficulty solved, than another occurs, which I own, appears to me altogether inexplicable; namely, why, according to the foregoing Hypothesis, were not Mr. DUNNING and Col. BARRE [not to mention other eminent Senators] whose Talents are unquestionably great, and deservedly admired;—Why were they not chosen for the City of *London*, instead of being returned for such insignificant Boroughs, comparatively speaking, as *High-Wycomb* and *Calne*? Nay, why
above

above all, was the great Mr. PITT himself chosen only by the thirty-three Persons in the Corporation of *Bath*, instead of being returned by the Thousands of *London* or *Westminster*? These are Difficulties, I fairly own, I cannot master: Therefore I willingly consign them over to those great Adepts in LOCKIAN Politics, the *Westminster* Committee, to solve, if they can.

It will likewise be incumbent on them [in order to prove the Utility of their own Plan, and the Advantage of augmenting the Number of Representatives, so as to bear a just Proportion to the Number represented] I say, it will be incumbent on them to shew, that the eight Members for *London*, *Westminster*, and *Southwark*, were always the foremost in promoting the public Good;—
 ☞ That they might easily be distinguished from little Borough-Members, by
 their

their Zeal in propounding Laws of general Utility ; wherein the particular, or *local* Interests of *London, Westminster, or Southwark* were no more concerned, than other Parts of the Kingdom ;—and that in short, they never employed the great Weight and Influence, which these three great Cities gave them, in procuring partial Favours for their Constituents ;—such as for Example, exclusive Charters of Trade for the City, or Bounties for the Port of *London* ; or Grants and Donations of public Money for building or repairing their Goals, their Bridges, &c. &c.—or for procuring any other Monopoly, or Job. A faithful List, my LORD, of such *truly patriotic*, and *impartial* Laws, proposed, seconded, and conducted by City Members, would be a greater Curiosity, than has ever yet been discovered in our political Hemisphere. And a Table of their Contents would deserve a Place not only in Guild-Hall,

fervation, That Power is of an encroaching Nature: The Truth of which is always verified by Experience, wherever there are no other Powers to counterbalance its Operations, or check its Progress. Yet the present Scheme of the *Westminster* Committee, tends to encrease the Power of the Populace of that great and growing City [whose Fury hath already made the stoutest of you tremble] even to *fourteen Times* greater than it was before. Is it credible, that such a Scheme as this can ever be adopted either by Men of Sense or Virtue? A Scheme in which the unthinking and undesigning *many* will infallibly become the Tools and Dupes of the crafty and designing *few*.

HERE therefore let us suppose a Case; which it is to be feared, will too soon become a Reality, if this equalizing Scheme shall be adopted.—After a general annual Election of 30 Representatives;

tives, one of them is supposed to step forward on the Hustings, and to harangue the gaping Populace in Language to the following Effect :

‘ *My dear Fellow Citizens, and Fel-
low Patriots !*

‘ The People are the Fountain of
‘ Power: Ye are the People ! [*Hear him !
‘ hear him !*] Kings and Parliaments, and
‘ *Justices of the Peace*, have no Authority,
‘ but what you give them : They ought
‘ not to act, but as you shall direct, or
‘ continue longer in Commission, than
‘ during your Will and Pleasure [*O hear
‘ him ! hear him !*] We, Gentlemen,
‘ in particular, whom you have now
‘ honoured with your Choice, are your
‘ immediate Servants ; and we acknow-
‘ ledge no Power upon Earth superior to
‘ yours. [*Hear him ! hear him !*] It is
‘ our Joy and Glory to represent true
‘ *Englishmen*, the bravest People in the
‘ World ; a People, who *will* be free,

‘ and act like Freemen ; a People who
 ‘ will no longer submit to the Violation
 ‘ of their Rights, but are determined to
 ‘ demand the Restoration of them. And,
 ‘ Gentlemen, it will be the happiest Pe-
 ‘ riod of our Lives to receive your Or-
 ‘ ders for such glorious Purposes, and to
 ‘ execute every Command, with which
 ‘ you shall honour us. [*Three Cheers*
three Cheers, my Lads, three Cheers to
the 30 Representatives of Westminster.]

‘ To which End give us Leave to
 ‘ suggest to you a Plan for making your
 ‘ own Importance still more considerable,
 ‘ and for obliging your Enemies to feel
 ‘ the Weight of your Indignation :—A
 ‘ Plan it is, to enable us, your Servants,
 ‘ to execute your Wills and Pleasures in
 ‘ the fullest Manner, and with Certainty
 ‘ of Success : A Plan, in short, whereby
 ‘ you will put the Means in our Hands
 ‘ to make all Opposition die before you.
 [*Hear him! hear him!*]

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ You have now here [*pointing to*
 ‘ *them*] a faithful and trusty Band of
 ‘ Patriots, the Members of your honour-
 ‘ able Committee, who have conducted
 ‘ your Councils with such glorious Suc-
 ‘ cess. These have stood the Test: They
 ‘ remain uncorrupted in the worst of
 ‘ Times; and they fear not the Face of
 ‘ Man. Therefore, can you chuse fitter
 ‘ Men for conveying your Orders and In-
 ‘ structions to us, your Servants, than
 ‘ these, your faithful Committee? [*The*
 ‘ *faithful Committee for ever, Huzza!*]
 ‘ And, Gentlemen, as they are fighting
 ‘ your Battles, Will you not arm your-
 ‘ selves in your own Defence? They,
 ‘ and you, and we, your Servants, and
 ‘ Representatives, have all but one Cause,
 ‘ the great Cause of Liberty, and the
 ‘ Restoration of our Rights. Associate,
 ‘ therefore, arm and associate, be firm
 ‘ and steady. The dastard Souls of those,
 ‘ who

‘ who have so long injured and oppressed
 ‘ us, will be struck with Terror and Dis-
 ‘ may, when they see us armed to take
 ‘ Vengeance on them. And, Gentlemen,
 ‘ let me tell you, There was a Time,
 ‘ when your brave Fore-fathers never ap-
 ‘ peared in Council, but with Arms in their
 ‘ Hands. In those glorious Days, the
 ‘ Warriors surrounded their Chiefs, and
 ‘ made the Air to ring with the Clashings
 ‘ of their Shields and Spears, to signify
 ‘ their Approbation of the Speeches ut-
 ‘ tered, or the Measures proposed. Those
 ‘ were the Days of Liberty; and such
 ‘ may yours be, if you please. I need say
 ‘ no more. The Wise and the Brave
 ‘ are never deaf to the Call of Honour.’
[A Peal of Marrow Bones and Cleavers,
with which the new Members, and their
Committee are accompanied to a neigh-
bouring Tavern, to celebrate the Success
of the Day, and to receive Instructions,
for the Operations of the ensuing Cam-
paign.]

AND

AND now, my Lord, little as you may approve of the Contents of this *Hurlthumbo* Speech, you must allow, that the Substance of it, or something to the same Effect, will too probably be uttered, as soon as an Occasion shall offer.—An Occasion will certainly offer, if the Scheme of an equal Representation should take Place, in a shorter Space of Time, than you have been employed in bringing your Schemes to bear to be the prime Minister. This I will venture to foretell; and my Predictions have not always proved nugatory and vain. In short, this Scheme joined to that other, which is your Lordship's favourite Proposal, of *arming the People*, and particularly the People of the Metropolis, would necessarily be productive of the worst of Consequences. Indeed the one is but the Fore-runner of the other; which seems as naturally to grow out of it, as a Plant from the Seed. And then Dr. PRICE's Plan of Legislation would be truly verified, as far at least, as these Associating

fociating Heroes are concerned. For such Voters with Arms in their Hands, to justify their Pretensions, would be their own Legislators ;—such Legislators as the Pretorian Bands were in *Rome* ; and such as the Janizaries are now at *Constantinople*.

IF any Man should say, he cannot foresee such dreadful Consequences :—My Answer is, that probably such a Man did not foresee the Consequences of the late War ; he did not foresee, that the driving the *French* out of *Canada* would be the Signal for all *America* to revolt. But nevertheless the latter was as necessary an Effect of the former, as the Explosion of Gun-Powder is caused by the Touch of Fire. And you know, my Lord, that such Consequences were foretold, though not believed.

I have now the Honour to be

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient humble Servant,

J. TUCKER.

P. S.

P. S. As References are often made to the Number of *constitutional* Voters in former Times, in this and in the foregoing Letter ;—and as the Objections brought against my Account of the ancient, or *original* Gothic Constitution, in my Answer to Mr. LOCKE, after every Effort to multiply them, are reduced to *two*, I will here beg Leave to give as full a Confutation of them, as such futile Things deserve.

THE one is by Mr. IBBETSON, whom I hear your Lordship has lately preferred, and who maintains, ‘ That Lands held ‘ in Socage even from the Beginning of ‘ the Saxon Monarchy, as well as in later Times, were not held by a *Servitium Servile*, but by a *frank*, and *honourable* Tenure.” In reply to this I can only say, that the learned Judges LYTTLETON and COKE, Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH, Mr. CAMPDEN, and his Translator Bishop GIBSON (not to men-

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tion

tion many others) had the Misfortune to differ from the learned Counsellor on this Head. And I am content to suffer any Abuse he may be pleased to bestow upon me in such good Company. If he thinks he has not been liberal enough already, he may give more.—The Point itself is not worth contending for. And my *general* Argument is just as good without it, as with it.—Indeed the very Question is fitter for the Discussion of an Antiquarian, than for any other; and the Proofs relating to it cannot amount to a Certainty either Way. The more probable Opinion seems to be, that as all the *barbarous* Nations throughout the *known* World had, and do still retain a most sovereign Contempt for every Trade or Occupation except that of Arms,—they would not admit to be upon a *Par* with themselves either those who were doomed to till the Ground, or to labour at any mechanic Trades. Hence we read, that both the *Gauls* and the
Germans

Germans came to their public Assemblies, their Parliaments, or Diets, in a soldier-like Manner, that is, with their Arms in their Hands. But there is no Instance upon Record, that the *Socman*, or any other of that Class, appeared at any public Meeting of his Tribe, Hord, or Clan, with his Spade or Mattock, his Share or Coulter. This seems to have been the *original* State of Things;—namely, that the Voting at their public Assemblies, when any military Expedition was to be undertaken, was confined to Warriors only. As to those Alterations, which successively took Place in Proportion as Civilization advanced, and Barbarism disappeared; and to which Judge BLACKSTONE seems to allude:—This is another Question, in regard to which I am not at all concerned: Therefore Mr. IBBETSON is fighting with his own Shadow in so fiercely contending for it.

THE other Objection is made by Major

CARTWRIGHT and Co. who roundly assert, that every Man in a County, whether Freeholder, or not, had a Right to vote for a Knight of the Shire, 'till the disabling Statute of 8th of H. VI. C. 7. which *disfranchised* the People, and restrained the Qualification to a Freehold of 40s. a Year.—Unluckily for these Gentlemen, a Friend of mine, eminent in the Law, hath enabled me to give them such an Answer, as perhaps they did not expect from one not bred to the Profession. Every Election for a Knight of the Shire must be made at a County Court, and by the Members of that Court only; that is, by such as are bound to do Suit and Service at that Court, if legally required. Now these must be *Frank-tenants*, or Freeholders; for none but they can be bound in Duty to attend the Sheriff's Summons: And none but Freeholders can vote in that Court. If any other Person should be present [as in an open Court Hundreds and Thousands may] of such an one it may be said, that he is *non rectus in Curia*,

Curia. This is so true, that a Copyholder, even at this Day, though worth 100l. a Year, cannot give a Vote for the Election of a Coroner; whereas a Freeholder of no more than 1s. a Year Value, may demand his Vote to be taken, and hath a good Action against the Sheriff, were he to be refused. The Case referred to in this Dispute, was simply this:—Antecedently to the Statute made in the 7th of H. IV. 1405, the Sheriffs took upon them to summon only their Friends and Partizans to come to the County-Court for the Election of Knights of the Shire, PEREMPTORILY FORBIDDING others: By which Means they became absolute Masters of the Election. Such an intolerable Abuse called aloud for Redress. Therefore the above-mentioned Statute was made, enacting, that public Notice should be given by Proclamation, when the Election was to begin, and likewise ordaining, that all who had a Right to vote, might vote, whether they were particularly summoned, or not; nay, even
tho'

tho' they had received a *Request*, or *Commandment* to the contrary. These are the very Words of the Statute.

IN Procefs of Time, this Mode of admitting all the little Freeholders to vote for Knights of the Shire, was found to be attended with great Inconveniences: [Tho' the total Number of Freeholders at that Time were not a fifth Part of what they are at present] And another Statute was made in the 8th of H. VI. C. 7. Anno. 1429, to restrain the Qualification of voting, *in this particular Case*, to 40s. a Year. But all the other Parts of the former Statute of H. IV. respecting the Notice to be given by the Sheriffs, were to remain in full Force; as they do at this Day [See more particularly COKE's 4th Institute, C. 1. *Who shall be Electors of Knights, &c.*]

L E T T E R IV.

The evil Consequences arising from the Propagation of Mr. LOCKE's democratical Principles.

MY LORD,

THE destructive Civil Wars of 1641, to 1648, which ended in the Tyranny of a single Despote, set many Persons on considering the Nature, and Ends of Government. But they could agree in nothing, except in one Point; namely, that ARISTOTLE's *political Animal*, the People, was such a capricious, restless, thoughtless, and unreasonable Animal, that it must be governed and controuled by some superior Power, for the Sake of preventing it from doing Mischief to itself, and to other Beings. Mr. HOBBS, in consequence of this Position, maintained with some Degree of Plausibility, that any Man, or Set of Men, who could get into the Saddle, and seize the Bridle, had a Right to ride this fiery, high-spirited, skittish

skittish Horse, and to break and manage him as they could.—Sir ROBERT FILMER opposed this Doctrine with all his Might, boldly asserting, that there was an hereditary, indefeasible Right, divinely appointed to sit in this political Seat; and that none but a right-lined Rider had, or could have, a Right Divine to hold the Reins. Mr. SIDNEY fiercely opposed such a slavish Tenet, calling the Author of it *impudent Liar* an hundred Times. His Position was, that Noblemen, and those of noble Families, such as himself, were the only fit Persons to be the *State-Riders*; and he bewailed the Degeneracy of the Times, which had abolished the honourable Distinction of Baron and Vassal, when each illustrious Chief led to Battle a brave and chosen Band of his own Tenants and Dependants.—Such was his Scheme for propagating Liberty and Equality, and for vindicating the Rights of human Nature. Mr. HARRINGTON, who was himself a Gentleman

Gentleman of a very antient Family, maintained it as his Opinion, that Genlemen by Birth [such as the Rulers of the State of *Venice*, which Government was his favourite Model] were the fittest of all others to be Riders. And therefore, in order to appear consistent with himself, he discovered, that his darling Megaletor, OLIVER CROMWELL, was descended from an antient Gentleman's Family. Thus had his Highness, the Lord Protector, a clearer Title, founded on Antiquity, to the vacant Throne ;—than I believe he himself had thought of, when he *sportingly* and *jeeringly* signed the King's Death-Warrant. [Here my Lord, will you pardon me in making one short Digression? This very Man, Mr. HARRINGTON, whose Authority jointly with that of the great SIDNEY and LOCKE, has been urged both in Prose and Verse against the poor Dean of *Glocester*, modestly wished, that your own Country *Panopea*, (*Ireland*) had been leased out to the *Jews* in Perpetuity. —What to the *Jews*? Yes, my Lord,

to *them*; who were to employ the miserable Natives in any Service, or Drudgery they pleased, for the Benefit of their Lords and Masters of *Oceana*, or *Old England*: And the Reason which he assigns is equally curious; ‘ It is because ‘ *Panopea*, (*Ireland*) is the soft Mother of ‘ a slothful and pusillanimous People, ‘ antiently subjected by the Arms of *Oceana*, ‘ since almost depopulated for shaking the ‘ Yoke, and at length replanted with a ‘ new Race. But (thro’ what Virtues of ‘ the Soil, or Vice of the Air soever it ‘ be) they come still to degenerate. ‘ Wherefore, seeing it is neither likely to ‘ yield Men fit for Arms, nor necessary it ‘ should; it had been the Interest of *Oceana*—to have leased it to the *Jews*.’ And now, my Lord, after such Authorities as these, (all Champions for the Rights and Liberties of Mankind) what can this paultry Scribler of *Glocester* say? How dares he to hold up his Head?— But to return.] The celebrated Mr. RICHARD BAXTER (whom I most sincerely believe to be a very honest, and well inten-

intentioned Man, tho' sometimes greatly mistaken) answered both HOBBS and HARRINGTON in a set Treatise; wherein he discovered a much sounder Judgment than either, and laid down such Maxims of Government, as would have made a very good System;—had he not marred it all by endeavouring to introduce a Theocracy into an *English* Government and Constitution. This capital Error led him of Course to maintain *intolerant Principles* in Religion; Principles, which could not be justified any where, except in *Judea*; which little * Territory was possessed by one peculiar People, holding the same by

* Many Places in the Writings of MOSES refer to this very singular Institution; particularly *Levit. xxv. 24.* The Land [of *Canaan*] is *mine*; for ye are Strangers and Sojourners with *me* [your King JEHOVAH, who gave you this Land.] And then it follows of Course, that this Circumstance created, as it were, a *distinct* Right to bind the Children of *Israel* to such Terms of Loyalty and Obedience, as were not laid on other Nations, who were not under a like Form of *temporal* Government, nor had a Country given them to hold on the same Conditions.

such a peculiar Tenure, as never did extend to any other People, or Country; and which could not have been obligatory even upon the *Jews* [I mean the Law for the Exterpation of Idolaters] any longer than during the Continuance of the *Mosaic* Theocracy.

As yet, my Lord, we have heard nothing of Mr. LOCKE. He first distinguished himself as a political Writer, by his famous Laws of *Carolina*. In this System he was so far from supposing, that the People was the only Fountain of Power, that he goes into an opposite Extreme;—not indeed of *absolute Monarchy*, but of that which is rather worse, a tyrannical Aristocracy; such as Mr. SIDNEY had been recommending. I do not pretend to know what Connections were subsisting between these two great Men: But a completer System of Baronage and Vassage never yet appeared in the World, than is comprised in this little Code of *fundamental* Laws. Nay, Mr. LOCKE carries the
Matter

Matter of Slavery so far, and grants such Powers to Masters to put their Slaves to Death, whenever they please, as exceeds even the Tyranny of *Poland*. And *Poland* was the Country to which Mr. SIDNEY was often turning his Eyes with Sorrow and Regret, that the like Power over Tenants and Vassals, did not still remain in *England*. Respecting this Treatise, or these Laws of *Carolina*, I will mention an Anecdote or two, which may serve to confirm the Notion, that Mr. LOCKE and Mr. SIDNEY had one, and the same Point once in View; how widely soever they might differ afterwards. A Tradition has been handed down among the Descendants of Mr. LOCKE's Friends and intimate Acquaintance; that they always considered these Laws of *Carolina*, as a Plan for new modelling the Government and Constitution of *England*; and that they used frequently to tell him so in Conversation. To which he evaded giving a direct Answer; but left them to
guess

guess what they pleased from his Silence. The other Aneedote is, [according to an Information I received some Time ago, but out of Tendernefs to his Character, did not publish 'till compelled by the Virulence of my Adversaries to do it in my own Defence] that Mr. LOCKE was deeply engaged in MONMOUTH's Rebellion; and that there are Proofs thereof still extant. * Supposing this to be the Case, [which perhaps cannot be positively proved at this Distance of Time; but which nevertheless is very probable] his Conduct and Behaviour can be no otherwise accounted for, than on one, or other of the following Hypotheses:—Either, that he thought

The Information given me was in the following Words. In the Harleyan Library, No. 6845, there is a Manuscript, which, from Page 251, contains a Collection of Papers, relative to MONMOUTH's Invasion, and other Intrigues. *Inter alia* it appears, that Mr. LOCKE paid Money at two different Times, towards the Equipment of that Expedition.

wit!

with Mr. HOBBS, that as the People was an *unruly Beast*, which must have a Rider, it did not signify who got into the Saddle, MONMOUTH, or any other; the Rights of all Men being equal, provided their Attempts were crowned with Success:—Or he must have embraced Mr. SIDNEY's Opinion, who supposed, that Barons or Noblemen were the only Persons fit to manage this fiery Courser. The Tenor of the Laws of *Carolina* seem to favour the latter Conjecture. For they gave as little Power to the Crown, as to the People, making all to centre in the Men of landed Property. Moreover, if he really assisted MONMOUTH, it is impossible that he could have done it with any other View than to have used him as a *Tool* during the Struggle, and to have set him aside after the Enterprize had succeeded;—or at most, to have compelled him to have accepted of the mere Shadow and Name of Royalty, without any Power, like a *Polish* King, or a Doge
of

of *Venice*. For as to any legal Right or Title, MONMOUTH could have no Pretensions of any Sort. And respecting the private Character of the Man, moral or religious, or even his Zeal for Civil Liberty, and for granting a religious Toleration, there are no Traces of these Virtues to be found in the Life and Character of the Duke of *Monmouth*. Therefore, if Mr. LOCKE espoused his Cause, it must have been *not* upon the best of Motives.

BUT after the Revolution, Mr. LOCKE veered about, and ran into an Extreme quite opposite to his Laws of *Carolina*;—yet without publicly renouncing his former Opinions. The People then, and not the Barons, or the Men of landed Property became his sole Fountain of Power. In his Tract on Government, (the 2d Part of which is nothing more than the Resolves of the *Cromwellian* Levellers, worked up into a System) he maintains such Principles, as must necessarily

farily destroy every Government upon Earth, without erecting, or establishing any. *His* Error, and Sir ROBERT FILMER's, though seemingly arising from opposite Schemes, tend to the same Centre, and rest on the same Foundation; namely, A false Idea of the present (supposed) Perfections and Excellencies of Human Nature. Sir ROBERT's System must suppose (whether he intended it, or not) that a mortal Man, by being exalted into the highest Station of all, and invested with arbitrary Sway over his Fellow-Mortals, becomes so much the better, and wiser, and fitter to govern, than he was before: Whereas the very Reverse to this is nearer to the Truth. Mr. LOCKE's System is much alike; for it supposes, that Mankind, taken in their *aggregate* or *collective* Capacity, are so much the less positive and dogmatical in their Opinions, the less liable to be perverted in their Judgments, the more humane and candid in their Decisions, and the more discreet;

and dispassionate in their Resolves, than otherwise they would have been. Whereas every Tittle of this is false. In short, if Experience shall be allowed to decide this Question, it will almost universally tell us, that when a Multitude are invested with the Power of governing, they prove the very worst of Governors. They are rash and precipitate, giddy and inconstant, and ever the Dupes of designing Men, who lead them to commit the most atrocious Crimes, in order to make them subservient to their own Purposes. Besides, a democratic Government is despotic in its very Nature ; because it supposes itself to be the only Fountain of Power, from which there can be no Appeal. Hence, therefore, it comes to pass, that this many headed Monster, an absolute Democracy, has all the Vices and Imperfections of its Brother-Tyrant, an absolute Monarchy, without any of the shining Qualities of the latter to hide its Deformity. And what is still worse, it feels no

Remorse

Remorse of Conscience; and it never blushes.

IF therefore both these Species of Government are generally so bad, that they ought to be avoided as much as possible; —perhaps your Lordship might here be apt to ask, ‘ Is there any that is good, ‘ according to your present Description? ‘ For Government of some Sort or other ‘ there must be, notwithstanding its manifold Imperfections.’ To this I answer, that *that* Government may be denominated good, in this relative or comparative Sense, which grants sufficient Liberty both civil and * religious, to the

* It is remarkable, that the famous Republics of Antiquity, both of *Greece* and *Rome*, never allowed Liberty of Conscience, or the Rights of private Judgment in Matters of religious Worship.---All were obliged either to conform to the nonsensical Superstitions, the gross Immoralities, cruel and shocking Idolatries of the Religion of the State, or to undergo the most grievous Persecutions, in Case of Non-compliance. This I insist on as a Fact: And let our modern Republicans disprove it, if they can.

Governed to do what is right, agreeably to the Dictates of sound Reason; and yet retains Power and Authority enough to restrain the ill-intentioned, and to punish the wrong Doers.—Doubtless many Checks may be introduced into every Government, for preventing an Abuse of Power to a great Degree;—and many Expedients may be devised for giving Energy to a weak and impotent Constitution:—Yet, after all, I think it must be allowed, that the very best Form of Government for answering those good Purposes, seems to be the MIXT—so mixt, as to partake of the Firmness of a regal Form, and the Credit or Reputation of a popular one. For by such an happy Temperament, many of the Advantages of both may be obtained, and their chief Inconveniences be avoided. But in order to ensure this good End, and to make it permanent, by keeping a due Medium between both Extremes, the Regal and the Popular, a THIRD POWER should


should intervene:—A Power, whose peculiar Interest it is, to maintain the Balance even between the opposite and contending Parties, and to prevent either of them getting such an Ascendency, as would render the other useless or unnecessary. And such a Power can be no other than an *hereditary Nobility* invested with Privileges of a peculiar Nature, for *erecting a Counter-poise*. This Institution here in *England* is honourably distinguished by the Title of an *House of Lords*; and is so constituted, as to partake of the Qualities both of the regal and of the popular State; because it would inevitably lose by the Loss or Destruction of either of the other two, and yet be no Gainer by its Exaltation. Therefore such a *balancing Power* will of Course,—I might say, it will through *Necessity*, throw its Weight into the opposite Scale, if either of the other Powers should be found to preponderate too much.

AND,

AND, my Lord, it was this very Circumstance, and no other, which produced the glorious Revolution of 1688. King JAMES attempted to be arbitrary: His Designs of engrossing all Power to himself, were too apparent to be denied; and no Remonstrances, however full of Duty and Respect, could stop his Proceedings. Then he was opposed, most justly opposed,—not by the People only, but by the Nobility also. Nay, I might add with the strictest Truth, that the Nobility were the *foremost*, because they led the Way in this Affair. For it cannot be denied, but that they had *originally* a much greater Share in bringing about this Event, than most Commoners, though afterwards they seemed rather tardy.—Many Proofs and Evidences might be adduced; but they are needless.

LET us now see what Use has Mr. LOCKE made of this Matter; and how far,

far, or how well, doth his System comport with this plain Narration of interesting Facts. In the 2d Part of his Treatise on Government, instead of mentioning the *three balancing Powers of the Constitution*, and of the good Consequences resulting from the Junction of two of them against the third, if it should attempt to predominate; which he ought to have done;—he ascribes all Authority, Power, and Pre-eminence to the People only, as CROMWELL's Levelers had done before him. And he sinks the Nobility into a total Insignificance,—never ascribing to them any Right or Privilege, or even so much as an Existence in the State, any otherwise than as they make a Part, and a very small one too, of the Mass of the People. Nay, in his 19th Chapter, *of the Dissolution of Government*, he lays down such a Position, as annihilates the House of Lords at once, absolutely forbidding us to acknowledge them, as a Branch of
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the Legislature, *distinct* from the People. His Words are these: “ When any one, “ or more, shall take upon them to “ make Laws [whether conjunctively with the other Branches, or solely by themselves, he doth not say, but shall take upon them to *make Laws*] “  whom “ the People have *not appointed* [or elected] so to do, they make Laws “ without Authority, which the People “ are not therefore bound to obey,—and “ may constitute a *new Legislative*, as “ they think best.” The necessary Consequence of which is, That an House of Lords, unless they will acknowledge, that they are *appointed* by, and the *Creatures* of the People, are a Pack of *Ursurpers*, who ought at least to be *set aside*, if not to be punished for daring thus to infringe the Prerogatives of their Superiors. A fine Lesson this for your Lordship, and the whole Body of the Peerage!

BUT what is still more extraordinary
is,

is, That this same Power of the People, though Lord Paramount over all, is nevertheless the most fleeting and unsettled Thing upon Earth. For the Son is not bound by the Act of the Father, though it should be ever so necessary for the Safety and Preservation of the State. The young Man, it seems, is *no Subject* of that Government under which he was born, and which continued to protect him: No, he is still as free and independent a Being, as ROBINSON CRUSOE in his *desert* Island,—and will ever so remain, till he himself shall honour some Government or other with his Choice, by a personal and express Agreement with it. [Compare §. 116, and §. 122, of the 2d. Part of Mr. LOCKE together. See also my Confutation thereof, Pages 43 and 48.] An *implied* Contract in this Case, or what the Civilians term a *Quasi-Contract*, is, it seems, no Contract at all. And a virtual Representation is to be hooted and scouted at.—But why?

And for what Reason are a *Quasi*-Contract, and a virtual Representation to be treated with such Derision and Disdain? For a very plain and obvious one, which Mr. LOCKE has suggested, namely, That were these Things to be allowed, it would then follow, that Men might be bound in Conscience to obey such Laws, to the framing of which they had not actually or personally consented, and to submit to those Law-Givers and Magistrates, whom they had not elected. And then farewell to the grand Principle of all, THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE!—*Babylon is fallen! is fallen!*

BUT however strange these Positions are, I can assure your Lordship, that there are stranger yet to come. For these same Rights, *unalienable* and *untransferable* as they are, and the very Pillars of the LOCKIAN Cause, will vanish in a Moment, and disappear at once, [like the baseless Fabric of a Vision] as soon as
ever

ever the Majority of a single Vote shall appear against them. For we are told by the same Author, and by all his Disciples, that the Majority is to decide against the Sense of the Minority in all Cases of Civil Concerns, and to compel an Obedience. Now this I called a *palpable Contradiction*: And I do not scruple to give it still the same Appellation. But what say his Advocates and Defenders? Do they assert that these Points are not Contradictions? No;—at least *not as yet*. Or do they so much as attempt to prove, that they are reconcileable with each other? No: In no wise: Instead thereof, they have [at least *hitherto*] only said, “ That Mr. LOCKE did allow, that the “ Majority have a Right to command the “ Minority to obey its Decisions in Civil “ Causes ” And they blame the Dean of *Glocester* for having suppressed these Passages, which were explanatory of Mr. LOCKE’s Meaning.

Now, my Lord, I was so far from suppressing these Passages, that I quoted them at full Length in the 6th and 10th Pages of my Answer :—And I insisted on them, I appealed to them, I laid all possible Stress upon them in many Places of my Treatise [See particularly Pages 31,—36] And I now do make them the capital Article of my Charge against his Doctrine, as what overturns itself, and destroys his whole System of unalienable Rights. Either, therefore, these boasted Rights are *alienable*, or *unalienable*.—Let Mr. LOCKE's Defenders chuse, which Side of this Question they will please to maintain; and I am content;—provided they will adhere to it, and not shift about, and be guilty of those Tergiversations which have hitherto appeared in all their Writings. A Searcher after Truth, and a Practitioner of Legerdemain, are very different Characters. I envy not the latter his Success.

As to Mr. LOCKE, considered as a
Man

Man, it is impossible for me to have any personal Ill-will against him. And considered as a *Writer*, I freely own, that when I was young and unexperienced, about 20 Years of Age, I esteemed him as a kind of Oracle both in Metaphysics, and Politics, paying him all Kinds of Deference short of *implicit* Faith. But when I arrived at thirty, I began to find, that he was not that *original* Author, enriching the World with *new Discoveries*, which my unexperienced Youth had imagined, and which very many still suppose to be the Case. Afterwards, at the Age of 40, 50, 60, and upwards, I was more and more convinced from the Labours of many learned Men, whose Writings had served to open mine Eyes—and also from mine own Reflection on the *natural Tendency* of his distinguished Tenets, that his Works had done more Harm, than Good in the World ;—and that there is a Mixture of Error in the very best of them, which disguises the Truth, and prevents it from having its proper Effect. Mr.

Mr. LOCKE is now the Idol of the Free-thinkers, or *les Philosophes de France*; because he suggested the Hint, that Matter is *capable of thinking*:—On which very Foundation they build all their Superstructure of atheistical Materialism. Hence, as I was informed by a Person who ought to know, they consider him as the Head and Founder of their Sect. This is undoubtedly doing him no Honour, but great Injustice: For he never intended, that any such Inference should be drawn from the Premises. Nevertheless though the *Man* ought to be absolved from any Guilt on that Account; this cannot amount to a Vindication of his Doctrine. Therefore, while Charity leads us to acquit the one, Justice as necessarily obliges us to condemn the other

Mr. LOCKE is also now the Idol of the Levellers of *England*.—And if your Lordship should ask, Why? Or for what Reason?—I will frankly tell you:—In
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the 2d. Part of his Treatise on Government, he supplies them with such Materials, as put it in their Power (were his Scheme to take Effect) to call for thousands and thousands of Alterations in the Forms and Modes, Management and Administration of every Government upon Earth, and to unsettle every Thing. In short, his Principles or Positions [whatever were his *Intentions*] give them a perpetual Right to shift and change, to vary and alter, without End; That is, without coming to any solid Establishment, Permanence, or Duration. Add to all this, that as the rising Generation are not bound, (according to Mr. LOCKE's System) to acknowledge the Validity of the Acts of their Fathers, Grandfathers, &c. they must of course have a *new Set* of unalienable Rights of their own; for they are perfectly their own Masters, absolutely free, and independent of that very Government, under which they were born. In Consequence of
this,

this, they also have a Right to demand as many new Arrangements and Alterations, as they please, agreeably to their own Taste and Humour: And if they are not gratified therein, have a Right to stir up *new* Commotions, and to bring about another and another Revolution, &c. What could the most enthusiastic Republican wish for more?

For these Reasons, my Lord, I cannot subscribe to the modern Notion, that Mr. LOCKE's System of Politics has any Tendency to promote either genuine Liberty, real Safety, or social Happiness. On the contrary, it is my firm Opinion, that it can produce nothing better than Anarchy and Confusion in every Country, where it is suffered to operate to its full Extent. And Experience alas! but too truly justifies this Observation, wherever his System has had any considerable Influence. The poor Inhabitants of *North America*, of *Geneva*, &c. will have Cause to wish, that
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the LOCKIAN System had never been known among them.—But though I am an Infidel in regard to the Merit of Mr. LOCKE's Notion or Maxim of *unalienable Rights*, for making perpetual Changes;—yet there is another Author, formerly of some Reputation in the World, whose Maxim I most cordially adopt; and if an old Plebeian in his 70th Year, dared to advise a young Nobleman and Prime Minister, not much more than Half as old, I would earnestly beg Leave to recommend it to your Lordship to do the same;—namely, *to fear GOD,—and honour the King,—and not meddle with those who are given to (unnecessary) Changes.*

WITH these Sentiments I take Leave of your Lordship at present;

And have the Honour to subscribe myself;

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most faithful humble Servant,

J. TUCKER.

Q



A P P E N D I X

TO THE

FOUR LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

LORD SHELBURNE.

MY LORD,

I HUMBLY beg Leave to add a few Paragraphs by Way of Appendix, occasioned by the several Committees, who are now filling the News-Papers with their Resolves for a parliamentary Reformation.

YOUR Lordship cannot be ignorant of the Remark frequently made by Foreigners, that the *English* Nation is perpetually agitated by some political Storm, or other; and that the People,
like

like the tempestuous Seas that surround them, can never remain long in a calm, or tranquil State. What Advantages have been taken, and especially of late, by crafty and designing Men of this national Weakness and Imbecility of Mind, I need not say.

RATHER therefore, as it will be more for my present Purpose, and as it may possibly open the Eyes of some well-meaning, but deluded People; permit me to attempt to lay before them a brief State of those great national Objects, which our present Race of Patriots solemnly profess, they constantly bear in Mind, as the End and Aim of all their Labours;—and then to contrast them with those Measures, by which they propose to obtain such important Ends. By Means of this double View, every Man of plain Understanding, if not absolutely blinded by Prejudice, or *sold* to be a *Slave* to Party, may easily judge of

of the Merits, or Demerits of the present Endeavours of our modern Reformers.

NATIONAL OBJECTS

to be perpetually kept in View.

TO reform our corrupt and abandoned Morals,---to encrease our Industry, and to remove the *Temptations* to Vice and Dissipation, Idleness, and Extravagance, *as far as is possible*, out of the Way of the common People,---hence also to lessen the Burden of the Poor,---to reduce the Price of our Manufactures, and thereby to make it the INTEREST of other Nations to buy our Goods, ---to contract our Expences at home and abroad, as a Means of lessening our Taxes, ---and to make a Beginning towards the Payment of our immense Debts.

REFLEXIONS,

ALL these are undoubtedly great and national Objects, ever worthy to be pursued! and were a reforming Spirit of *this Nation* to prevail among us, we

WAYS AND MEANS proposed by our present Race of Patriots, for obtaining such NATIONAL OBJECTS.

AND first (in Conformity to the grand LOCKIAN Principle, that those Laws which bind all, ought to be assented to by all) *to add many hundred Thousands of the lowest of the People, the most indigent, and the most venal of them, (perhaps some Millions) to our electioneering List of National Voters. This is proposed as the first Step towards reforming our Morals, and lessening our Expences.---A good Beginning truly!!!*

THEN 2dly, *to create additional Representatives in Parliament for all those populous Counties, Cities, and large Sea-port Towns, where the greatest Numbers of the above-mentioned poor, miserable and venal Creatures are known to dwell:---Also to appoint new Members for the many Thousands of poor Journey-Men, Day-Labourers, and low ignorant Mechanics*

we could not fail of being a great and flourishing People, numerous, and rich and happy at home, and respected abroad, whatever were the Issues of the present war.---

BUT, without such a Reform, let the Terms of Peace be ever so glorious, and were all our Enemies even to kneel down before us, and to make every Concession we ourselves should demand;---yet all such splendid Victories, together with their Consequences, great and distant Possessions, would soon prove to be nothing better than *honourable Graves* for interring the Strength, Power, Population. and Opulence of *Great-Britain*. Such is the Fate of all Conquests! Such it ever was!

*Suis et ipsa Roma viribus
ruit.*

chanics residing in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, &c. &c. and in every other capital Place of Manufacture, --- in Order that they may exercise their unalienable Rights of Voting, as often as any Election shall entice or invite them.---Better and better !!!

AND lastly, that such Invitations, or Enticements, may be as frequent as possible, ---and to crown the Whole with shrewd Specimens of political Wisdom, deep Foresight, National Oeconomy, and a general Reformation, ---to establish ANNUAL ELECTIONS,---

Best of all !!!

AND now, my Lord, what shall we say to these Things? Can any Scheme be more worthy of the Patronage of the honourable Family of the WRONGHEADS than this before us?—A Scheme, where-
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in there is such a thorough Knowledge of Human Nature ! Such a striking Conformity between the great Ends to be obtained, and the *sapient* Means here proposed for obtaining them ! But I forbear :—If Fame says true, your Lordship hath engaged yourself to assist in carrying this hopeful Project into Execution.—For the Sake of yourself and your Country I hope this Report is false : But I fear the worst.

Hæc Ithacus velit, & magnæ mercentur Atriæ.

F I N I S.

Lately published by the same A U T H O R,
and to be had at T. CADELL's; *Bookseller,*
in the Strand.

I. EIGHT TRACTS relating to AMERICA, setting forth the Disadvantages and Losses which ever did, and must attend, our Connection with that Country, as a *Part of the British Empire*, to be protected by our Arms, and supported at our Expence; and the absolute Necessity of having no other Communication with it, than what may arise from *mutual Interests* in the Course of Trade and Commerce.

II. A CONFUTATION of Mr. LOCKE's LEVELLING PRINCIPLES of the *unalienable* and *unalterable* RIGHTS of the COMMON PEOPLE to VOTE in all important CASES of CIVIL GOVERNMENT: And that no Man is the Subject of any Government, till his own actual Consent had made him so.

III. CUI BONO? the Third Edition. Proving, that all the Powers engaged in the present War, are militating against their own immediate Interests; and that the greatest Victories would in their Consequences prove the greatest Losses.

IV. A TREATISE on WOOL, setting forth the present Dearness of Price, and the most probable Means of procuring a reasonable Vent for the same.

19. TUCKER, Josiah. Four Letters on Important National Subjects, addressed to the...Earl of Shelburne, His Majesty's First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. Gloucester, by R. Raikes for T. Cadel, London, 1783.

8vo., boards, lower part very lightly damp stained through to signature D. * * Although the B.M.C. lists a 'second edition' London, 1773 and is followed in this dating by the D.N.B. article, Kress B660 - 2 notes the London edition as being misdated and redates 1783. Kress lists a further Dublin edition of the same year and it seems likely that our Gloucester edition has primacy of issue. "Tucker was a very shrewd though rather crotchety writer...He is praised by McCulloch and others who shared his view of the inutility of colonies...He deserves the credit of anticipating some of Adam Smith's arguments against various forms of monopoly, but though he made many good points, he was not equal to forming a comprehensive system." - D.N.B.







